

reason I am happy to cosponsor this bill, because it is time to reintroduce some common sense into a system that has gone far off the tracks.

# SUBMITTED RESOLUTIONS

## SENATE RESOLUTION 320—CALLING ON THE PRESIDENT TO ENSURE THAT THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES REFLECTS APPROPRIATE UNDERSTANDING AND SENSITIVITY CONCERNING ISSUES RELATED TO HUMAN RIGHTS, ETHNIC CLEANSING, AND GENOCIDE DOCUMENTED IN THE UNITED STATES RECORD RELATING TO THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

Mr. ENSIGN (for himself and Mr. DURBIN) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

### S. RES 320

Whereas the Armenian Genocide was conceived and carried out by the Ottoman Empire from 1915 to 1923, resulting in the deportation of nearly 2,000,000 Armenians, of whom 1,500,000 men, women, and children were killed, 500,000 survivors were expelled from their homes, and which succeeded in the elimination of more than 2,500-year presence of Armenians in their historic homeland;

Whereas, on May 24, 1915, the Allied Powers issued the joint statement of England, France, and Russia that explicitly charged, for the first time ever, another government of committing "a crime against humanity";

Whereas that joint statement stated "the Allied Governments announce publicly to the Sublime Porte that they will hold personally responsible for these crimes all members of the Ottoman Government, as well as those of their agents who are implicated in such massacres";

Whereas the post-World War I Turkish Government indicted the top leaders involved in the "organization and execution" of the Armenian Genocide and in the "massacre and destruction of the Armenians";

Whereas in a series of courts-martial, officials of the Young Turk Regime were tried and convicted on charges of organizing and executing massacres against the Armenian people;

Whereas the officials who were the chief organizers of the Armenian Genocide, Minister of War Enver, Minister of the Interior Talaat, and Minister of the Navy Jemal, were tried by military tribunals, found guilty, and condemned to death for their crimes, however, the punishments imposed by the tribunals were not enforced;

Whereas the Armenian Genocide and the failure to carry out the death sentence against Enver, Talaat, and Jemal are documented with overwhelming evidence in the national archives of Austria, France, Germany, Russia, the United Kingdom, the United States, the Vatican, and many other countries, and this vast body of evidence attests to the same facts, the same events, and the same consequences;

Whereas the National Archives and Records Administration of the United States holds extensive and thorough documentation on the Armenian Genocide, especially in its holdings for the Department of State under Record Group 59, files 867.00 and 867.40, which are open and widely available to the public and interested institutions;

Whereas the Honorable Henry Morgenthau, United States Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire from 1913 to 1916, organized and led protests by officials of many countries, among them the allies of the Ottoman Empire, against the Armenian Genocide;

Whereas Ambassador Morgenthau explicitly described to the Department of State the policy of the Government of the Ottoman Empire as "a campaign of race extermination", and was instructed on July 16, 1915, by Secretary of State Robert Lansing that the "Department approves your procedure . . . to stop Armenian persecution";

Whereas Senate Concurrent Resolution 12, 64th Congress, agreed to July 18, 1916, resolved that "the President of the United States be respectfully asked to designate a day on which the citizens of this country may give expression to their sympathy by contributing funds now being raised for the relief of the Armenians", who, at that time, were enduring "starvation, disease, and untold suffering";

Whereas President Woodrow Wilson agreed with such Concurrent Resolution and encouraged the formation of the organization known as Near East Relief, which was incorporated by the Act of August 6, 1919, 66th Congress (41 Stat. 273, chapter 32);

Whereas, from 1915 through 1930, Near East Relief contributed approximately \$116,000,000 to aid survivors of the Armenian Genocide, including aid to approximately 132,000 Armenian orphans;

Whereas Senate Resolution 359, 66th Congress, agreed to May 11, 1920, stated in part, "the testimony adduced at the hearings conducted by the subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations have clearly established the truth of the reported massacres and other atrocities from which the Armenian people have suffered";

Whereas such Senate Resolution followed the report to the Senate of the American Military Mission to Armenia, which was led by General James Harbord, dated April 13, 1920, that stated "[m]utilation, violation, torture, and death have left their haunting memories in a hundred beautiful Armenian valleys, and the traveler in that region is seldom free from the evidence of this most colossal crime of all the ages";

Whereas, as displayed in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Adolf Hitler, on ordering his military commanders to attack Poland without provocation in 1939, dismissed objections by saying "[w]ho, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?" and thus set the stage for the Holocaust;

Whereas Raphael Lemkin, who coined the term "genocide" in 1944, and who was the earliest proponent of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide, invoked the Armenian case as a definitive example of genocide in the 20th century;

Whereas the first resolution on genocide adopted by the United Nations, United Nations General Assembly Resolution 96(1), dated December 11, 1946, (which was adopted at the urging of Raphael Lemkin), and the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide, done at Paris December 9, 1948, recognized the Armenian Genocide as the type of crime the United Nations intended to prevent and punish by codifying existing standards;

Whereas, in 1948, the United Nations War Crimes Commission invoked the Armenian Genocide as "precisely . . . one of the types of acts which the modern term 'crimes against humanity' is intended to cover" and as a precedent for the Nuremberg tribunals;

Whereas such Commission stated that "[t]he provisions of Article 230 of the Peace Treaty of Sevres were obviously intended to cover, in conformity with the Allied note of

1915 . . . offenses which had been committed on Turkish territory against persons of Turkish citizenship, though of Armenian or Greek race. This article constitutes therefore a precedent for Article 6c and 5c of the Nuremberg and Tokyo Charters, and offers an example of one of the categories of 'crimes against humanity' as understood by these enactments";

Whereas House Joint Resolution 148, 94th Congress, adopted by the House of Representatives on April 8, 1975, resolved that "April 24, 1975, is hereby designated as 'National Day of Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man', and the President of the United States is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation calling upon the people of the United States to observe such day as a day of remembrance for all the victims of genocide, especially those of Armenian ancestry";

Whereas Proclamation 4838 of April 22, 1981 (95 Stat. 1813) issued by President Ronald Reagan, stated, in part, that "[l]ike the genocide of the Armenians before it, and the genocide of the Cambodians which followed it—and like too many other persecutions of too many other people—the lessons of the Holocaust must never be forgotten";

Whereas House Joint Resolution 247, 98th Congress, adopted by the House of Representatives on September 10, 1984, resolved that "April 24, 1985, is hereby designated as 'National Day of Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man', and the President of the United States is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation calling upon the people of the United States to observe such day as a day of remembrance for all the victims of genocide, especially the one and one-half million people of Armenian ancestry";

Whereas, in August 1985, after extensive study and deliberation, the United Nations Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities voted 14 to 1 to accept a report entitled "Study of the Question of the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide", which stated "[t]he Nazi aberration has unfortunately not been the only case of genocide in the 20th century. Among other examples which can be cited as qualifying are . . . the Ottoman massacre of Armenians in 1915–1916";

Whereas such report also explained that "[a]t least 1,000,000, and possibly well over half of the Armenian population, are reliably estimated to have been killed or death marched by independent authorities and eyewitnesses and this is corroborated by reports in United States, German, and British archives and of contemporary diplomats in the Ottoman Empire, including those of its ally Germany";

Whereas the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, an independent Federal agency that serves as the board of trustees of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum pursuant to section 2302 of title 36, United States Code, unanimously resolved on April 30, 1981, that the Museum would exhibit information regarding the Armenian Genocide and the Museum has since done so;

Whereas, reviewing an aberrant 1982 expression by the Department of State (which was later retracted) that asserted that the facts of the Armenian Genocide may be ambiguous, the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia in 1993, after a review of documents pertaining to the policy record of the United States, noted that the assertion on ambiguity in the United States record about the Armenian Genocide "contradicted longstanding United States policy and was eventually retracted";

Whereas, on June 5, 1996, the House of Representatives adopted an amendment to H.R. 3540, 104th Congress (the Foreign Operations,

Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 1997), to reduce aid to Turkey by \$3,000,000 (an estimate of its payment of lobbying fees in the United States) until the Turkish Government acknowledged the Armenian Genocide and took steps to honor the memory of its victims;

Whereas President William Jefferson Clinton, on April 24, 1998, stated, "[t]his year, as in the past, we join with Armenian-Americans throughout the nation in commemorating one of the saddest chapters in the history of this century, the deportations and massacres of a million and a half Armenians in the Ottoman Empire in the years 1915-1923";

Whereas President George W. Bush, on April 24, 2004, stated, "[o]n this year, we pause in remembrance of one of the most horrible tragedies of the 20th century, the annihilation of as many as 1,500,000 Armenians through forced exile and murder at the end of the Ottoman Empire"; and

Whereas, despite the international recognition and affirmation of the Armenian Genocide, the failure of the domestic and international authorities to punish those responsible for the Armenian Genocide is a reason why similar genocides have recurred and may recur in the future, and that a just resolution will help prevent future genocides: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the Senate—

(1) calls on the President to ensure that the foreign policy of the United States reflects appropriate understanding and sensitivity concerning issues related to human rights, ethnic cleansing, and genocide documented in the United States record relating to the Armenian Genocide and the consequences of the failure to realize a just resolution; and

(2) calls on the President, in the President's annual message commemorating the Armenian Genocide issued on or about April 24 to accurately characterize the systematic and deliberate annihilation of 1,500,000 Armenians as genocide and to recall the proud history of United States intervention in opposition to the Armenian Genocide.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I rise today to recall and to honor the 1.5 million Armenians killed by the Ottoman government between 1915 and 1923. Genocides claimed the lives of some 60 million people in the century just past, 16 million after the end of the Second World War, when we told ourselves, "Never again." The Armenian Genocide was the 20th century's first genocide, a vicious, organized crime against humanity that included murder, deportation, torture, and slave labor.

Some would ignore the Armenian victims and forget how they died. We need to fight against such forgetfulness.

An Armenian named Vahram Dadrian was a survivor of the genocide and wrote about his experiences in a moving memoir. But by the 1940s, he had begun to lose hope. "Everything has been forgotten," he wrote, "our . . . dead could never have imagined, even for a fraction of a moment, that they would have been forgotten so soon."

We must restore that lost hope. We must not forget. To do so would dishonor the memories of the dead and send a message to the world that we might tolerate genocide.

We will not tolerate the intolerable. We will remember, and in doing so, cultivate the knowledge—and the wis-

dom—necessary to act to prevent a repetition of these terrible crimes. Because the problem isn't simply a matter of knowing, but about knowing when and how to act.

Senator ENSIGN and I have submitted a resolution that acknowledges the suffering of those destroyed by the Armenian genocide.

It calls on the President to remember the hard lessons of the Armenian genocide in the conduct of U.S. foreign policy and to assure that our knowledge of this terrible crime informs our human rights policies.

As I said, the Armenian genocide was the first genocide of the 20th century. It was also the first time that the American public found itself confronting such a cruel, man-made catastrophe.

America closely followed the crisis. In 1915, the New York Times alone published 145 articles on the Armenian massacres, roughly one every 2½ days.

Dedicated and courageous American diplomats tried to end the carnage. Our ambassador to Constantinople, Henry Morgenthau, played an important role in bringing the massacres to the attention of the outside world.

Americans, such as Mark Twain, Henry Adams, and Clara Barton, spoke out against the massacres and a broad-based American humanitarian movement sought to provide relief to the desperate Armenians and pushed the U.S. Government to protect the victims from further violence. It was the birth of the American international human rights movement.

The Near East Relief Organization, founded in 1919 to assist Armenian refugees, provided more than \$116 million for the cause during its 10-year lifetime—the equivalent of more than \$1 billion in today's money.

We need to recapture that energy and determination because the best way to honor those who died is to recognize their suffering and dedicate ourselves to preventing such a destruction of entire communities in the future.

Recognizing the Armenian genocide takes on added importance in the face of the genocide occurring right now in the Darfur region of Sudan. As we pause to reflect upon this grievous example of man's inhumanity to man, let us honor the victims of the Armenian genocide and all crimes against humanity not only by acknowledging their suffering, but also by acting to halt similar atrocities that are occurring now before our very eyes.

#### SENATE RESOLUTION 321—COMMEMORATING THE LIFE, ACHIEVEMENTS, AND CONTRIBUTIONS OF ALAN A. REICH

Mr. DEWINE (for himself and Mr. HARKIN) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary:

S. RES. 321

Whereas Alan Reich devoted his life to civic involvement and efforts to improve the

quality of life for individuals with disabilities;

Whereas Alan Reich was born in Pearl River, New York, was a well-respected and beloved member of his family, and served as an inspirational figure in the disability community;

Whereas Alan Reich—

(1) graduated from Dartmouth College in 1952, where he was an all-American track and field athlete;

(2) received a Master's degree in Russian literature from Middlebury College in 1953;

(3) was awarded a diploma in Slavic languages and Eastern European studies from the University of Oxford;

(4) received an M.B.A. from Harvard University in 1959; and

(5) was a brilliant linguist who spoke 5 languages;

Whereas Alan Reich served in the Army from 1953 to 1957 as an infantry officer and Russian language interrogation officer in Germany, and was named as a member of the United States Army Infantry Officer Candidate School Hall of Fame;

Whereas Alan Reich married Gay Forsythe Reich, and shared with her 50 years of marriage and a deep commitment to each other and their three children, James, Jeffery, and Elizabeth;

Whereas from 1960 to 1970, Alan Reich was employed as an executive at Polaroid Corporation when, at age 32, he became a quadriplegic due to a swimming accident, and used a wheelchair as a result of his injury;

Whereas although Alan Reich was told he would not drive or write again, he relearned both skills and returned to work at Polaroid Corporation;

Whereas Alan Reich—

(1) served in the Department of State from 1970 to 1975 as a Deputy Assistant Secretary for Educational and Cultural Affairs;

(2) later served as Director of the Bureau of East-West Trade for the Department of Commerce;

(3) was named the President of the United States Council for the International Year of Disabled Persons in 1978; and

(4) was the first person to address the United Nations General Assembly from a wheelchair when the United Nations opened the International Year of the Disabled in 1981;

Whereas in 1982, Alan Reich transformed the Council for the International Year of Disabled Persons into the National Organization on Disability, an organization that actively seeks on national, State, and local levels full and equal participation for individuals with disabilities in all aspects of life;

Whereas Alan Reich—

(1) founded the Bimillennium Foundation in 1984 to encourage national leaders to set goals aimed at improving the lives of people with disabilities for the year 2000;

(2) served as past Chairman of the People-to-People Committee on Disability; and

(3) worked to advance research in regeneration of the central nervous system as Chairman of the Paralysis Cure Research Foundation and as President of the National Paraplegia Foundation;

Whereas Alan Reich, who used a wheelchair for 43 years, led an effort that raised \$1,650,000 to add the statue of Franklin Delano Roosevelt in a wheelchair to the memorial of the former President in Washington, D.C.;

Whereas Alan Reich stated in 2001, "The unveiling is a major national moment, the removal of the shroud of shame that cloaks disability. The statue will become a shrine to people with disabilities, but it will also inspire everyone to overcome obstacles. When you see the memorial that follows the statue, what will be in your mind is that he did all this from a wheelchair.";